

The Responsibility of Christians in an Interdependent Economic World

James (Bake

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NATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE ON THE

CHURCH AND ECONOMIC LIFE

ETROIT, MICHIGAN

FEBRUARY 16-19, 1950

CONFERENCE THEME

The Responsibility of Christians in an Interdependent Economic World

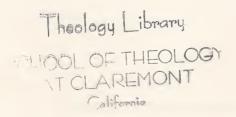
GENERAL STATEMENT AND TOPIC REPORTS

With List of Delegates

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FOREWORD

THE PAPERS herein presented are from the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life that met in Detroit, February 16-19, 1950. Each of them was acted upon by the Conference as a whole. The General Conference Statement was adopted with but one dissenting vote. The Agenda Topic Reports were accepted by the votes indicated and commended to the churches for study and appropriate action. Each report was accepted by 93 per cent or more of those who voted.

While the delegates were appointed by many church bodies and came from the ranks of many groups in economic life, the Conference spoke and acted only for itself. What was done and said in no way commits either the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America as the convening body nor any of the appointing church bodies. The same is equally true for the occupational and professional organizations with which the delegates were connected.

The significance of the Agenda Topic Reports lies in the fact that they represent the general thought and agreement reached in the discussion groups and later accepted by the Conference as a whole. The limitations of time in some cases did not afford the drafting committees the same opportunity for carefulness of writing which under other circumstances would have been possible.

These documents are made available for the information and use of what is hoped will be many church groups and a large number of church people. It is also hoped they will be of interest and value to the leaders and members of many organizations and groups in economic life. The Department of the Church and Economic Life assures its hearty appreciation of those who communicate their inquiries and suggestions for the widest usefulness of these documents.

Also available in printed form are the addresses and other papers in connection with the Conference. In the early fall of 1950 a study guide and other program materials for use by study and other church groups will be available. Orders for these should be sent to the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Cameron P. Hall, Executive Secretary
Department of the Church and Economic Life

March 1, 1950

INTRODUCTION

The following is from the address with which the Conference was opened by the Conference Chairman, Arthur S. Flemming.

This Conference has been convened by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America because of a conviction that it is good for the followers of the Christ to help one another come to grips with some of the great economic problems of our day.

All of us who participated in a similar study conference in Pittsburgh in 1947, received a great deal of help and assistance from

one another.

Since the Pittsburgh conference a group of active churchmen who come from labor, management, and agriculture have joined with outstanding economists and theologians in continuing, through the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council, to face some of these basic issues.

Those of us who have had the privilege of participating in these discussions are more convinced than ever that followers of the Christ can be of help and assistance to one another in this all-

important area.

During the war period it was my privilege to serve as chairman of the Labor-Management Policy Committee of the War Manpower Commission. That experience taught me that when men and women fix their attention on the achievement of a common objective, such as the winning of the war, they can, by thoughtful and painstaking discussion, do a perfectly amazing job of discovering areas of agreement.

Certainly those who each day offer the prayer "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth, as it is in heaven" can do the

same thing.

Surely followers of the Christ can discover areas of agreement within the realms of economic life which will provide the foundation on which forward steps for dealing with the economic issues of

our day can rest.

Surely followers of the Christ can rise above the turmoil and conflict of our day and point the way to solutions that will rest on a sound understanding and appreciation of the facts of our economic life and that will be consistent with His law of love, namely, solutions that will help our fellow human beings realize their highest possibilities.

And surely as followers of the Christ and as members of His

Church, we will never overlook the fact that one of the great opportunities that confronts His Church is to constantly and everlastingly carry forward a ministry of reconciliation.

How desperately this nation, this world of ours, needs an effec-

tive ministry of reconciliation!

Such a ministry is not a ministry of weak-kneed compromises. It is a ministry that demonstrates that when men and women keep in mind one single objective, namely, "to love our neighbors," it is possible for representatives from all walks of life with diverse interests and backgrounds to occupy together an advance position which will help to insure the coming of His Kingdom.

Finally, as followers of the Christ, we know that this ministry of reconciliation cannot be carried on if we trust solely in our own strength. We believe in the guidance of the Holy Spirit. We know that we will not succeed in our deliberations unless we receive the

strength which He alone can bring to us.

There are conflicts between the teachings of Christ and the commonly accepted methods of dealing with the economic problems of our day. These conflicts create tensions within our lives and

within the lives of our fellow human beings.

We are here to help one another relieve these tensions. And it can be done. Because we are followers of the Christ, we are tolerant of one another's views. Because we are followers of the Christ, we want to help one another. Because we are followers of the Christ, we are determined to join forces in an effort to do everything within our power to really bring His Kingdom to pass on earth.

Because we have met in that spirit, this conference can and will become a milestone in a forward movement which has as its sole

objective the reaching of the goal of our Christian ideals.

CONFERENCE PROCEDURES AND LEADERS

The National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life that met in February 1950 was part of the continuing program of the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The first gathering of its kind met in Pittsburgh in 1947. During the following three years, in fifteen communities conferences on a similar pattern were held under the sponsorship of state and city councils of churches. A growingly effective program by the denominations likewise led to a widening interest and participation of church leaders, both clergy and lay people, in the relationship of the churches to economic life.

The earlier conference in Pittsburgh had affirmed that the churches do have a responsibility in economic life; the Conference in Detroit was designed to explore some of the areas in which the churches should express this responsibility. The Conference theme was "The Responsibility of Christians in an Interdependent Economic World."

The Conference Membership

The Detroit Conference was convened by the Federal Council of Churches; the 382 delegates were in each case appointed by an official body — by 22 denominations, 31 councils of churches, 8 allied religious bodies, and the National Council of Community Churches, with 12 delegates present as members of the Department of the Church and Economic Life. There were about two laymen for every one clergyman. The lay delegates were from the ranks of agriculture, business, consumers, and labor, together with economists, public officials, educators, and members of the professions and other lay occupations. They came from 30 states, the District of Columbia, and Canada. In addition, there were 16 observers and consultants without vote.

General Conference Statement

The General Conference Statement sought to voice the basis and approach of the delegates to the task before them. A pre-

liminary draft was prepared by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and a small committee. This was presented and discussed by the Conference in plenary session on the first day. A committee of 19 members of the Conference was appointed to revise it. This committee held an open hearing for any delegates who wished to suggest changes. On the third day of the Conference the committee unanimously recommended that the statement as revised be adopted by the Conference. This was done, as amended, with but a single dissenting voice.

Agenda Topic Reports

The delegates spent a major time in discussion groups and plenary sessions dealing with the four Agenda Topics. The work and thought of the Conference in respect to these topics may be summarized as follows:

- (1) A special committee prepared a paper on each agenda topic which was sent to the delegates in advance of the Conference. On the opening day each paper was reviewed before the Conference as a whole by the chairman of the respective preparatory committee.
- (2) The delegates discussed the agenda topics using the preparatory papers to guide and inform their discussion. For purposes of discussion the delegates were divided into six groups, two groups being assigned to each of the first three topics. All the groups simultaneously discussed the fourth topic.
- (3) Drafting committees prepared a report on each agenda topic based upon the thought and consensus in the discussion groups.
- (4) The Conference in plenary session acted upon these reports. In a few instances motions to amend were lost or carried with substantial minorities. Motions to accept the reports in full, for reference to the churches for study and action, were carried overwhelmingly, from unanimity in one case to a maximum of 15 negative votes in another.

Conference Leadership

In the appointment of delegates emphasis was placed on the importance of having the Conference as a whole inclusive of men and women from the major economic groups and occupations. Every effort was made to have the Conference leadership also reflect this emphasis.

CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN: Arthur S. Flemming, Delaware, Ohio

DRAFTING COMMITTEES AND DISCUSSION GROUP LEADERS:

TOPIC A—The Individual: Conflicting Motives and Claims

Chairman: Miss Frances Perkins, Washington, D. C.;* Secretary: Very Rev. H. Ralph Higgins, Grand Rapids, Michigan

Group I Chairman: W. Walter Williams, Seattle, Wash.;

Secretary: Prof. Leland Gordon, Granville, Ohio Group II Chairman: Jerry Voorhis, Chicago, Ill.; Secretary: Rev. Canon W. W. Judd, Toronto, Ont., Canada

Topic B—Organized Groups: Freedom of Enterprise and Social Controls

> Chairman: Prof. Kenneth Boulding, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Secretary: Prof. Victor Obenhaus, Chicago, Ill.

> Group I Chairman: W. Howard Chase, New York, N. Y.;

Secretary: Robinson Newcomb, Washington, D. C. Group II Chairman: Victor Reuther, Detroit, Mich.; Secretary: John H. Davis, Washington, D. C.

TOPIC C—The World: The American Economy in Relation to World Needs and Resources

Chairman: Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio; Secretary: Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, New York, N. Y.

Group I Chairman: Robert E. Wilson, Chicago, Ill.; Secretary: Cloide Brehm, Knoxville, Tenn.

Group II Chairman: George M. Harrison, Cincinnati, Ohio

Secretary: Joseph W. Fichter, Columbus, Ohio

TOPIC D—The Churches: Their Program in Relation to Economic Life

Chairman: Rev. John H. Marion, Richmond, Virginia; Secretary: Rev. Harlan M. Frost, Buffalo, N. Y.

^{*} Because of circumstances beyond her control, Miss Perkins arrived too late to undertake the responsibilities of chairman.

Group Chairmen: Hon. Brooks Hays, Washington, D. C., Carl R. Hutchinson, Columbus, O.; Rev. Jesse Jai McNeil, Detroit, Mich.; William F. Meyer, New York, N. Y.; Prof. Orion B. Ulrey, Lansing, Mich.; Mrs. T. O. Wedel, Washington, D. C.

Group Secretaries: Rev. Rufus Cornelson, New Brunswick, N. J.; Rev. Owen Geer, Los Angeles, Calif.; Rev. Roy Gieselman, Cleveland, O.; Rev. Paul S. Heath, Buffalo, N. Y.; Rev. Riley B. Montgomery, Lexington, Ky.; Edwin Parsons, New York, N. Y.

GENERAL CONFERENCE STATEMENT COMMITTEE:

Chairman: Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, New York, N. Y.; Secretary: Charles H. Seaver, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Eleanor Anderson, New York, N. Y.; Dr. William Adams Brown, Jr., Washington, D. C.; Tilford Dudley, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Perry E. Gresham, Detroit, Mich.; Rev. Donald Cloward, New York, N. Y.; John L. Lovett, Detroit, Mich.; Bishop T. R. Ludlow, Newark, N. J.; Harry C. Markle, Detroit, Mich.; Raymond W. Miller, Linden, Calif.; Ray H. Nichols, Vernon, Texas; Robinson Newcomb, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Frederick Reissig, Washington, D. C.; Noel Sargent, New York, N. Y.; Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio; Ashley Totten, New York, N. Y.; Bernard Waring, Philadelphia, Pa.; Al Whitehouse, Cincinnati, Ohio.

WORSHIP SERVICES:

Opening Service: Presiding, Rev. Edgar DeWitt Jones, Detroit, Mich.; Address, Dean Harold A. Bosley, Durham, N. C.

Sunday Morning Service: Presiding, Dr. James W. Eichelberger, Chicago, Ill.; Address, Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio

Discussion Group Devotional Services: Tilford Dudley, Washington, D. C.; Prof. Kermit Eby, Chicago, Ill.; Hon. Ralph W. Gwinn, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Warwick B. Hobart, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mrs. Ralph L. Holland, Indianapolis, Ind.; Rev. Francis McPeek, Chicago, Ill.; Wesley Rennie, New York, N. Y.; Rev. Francis B. Sayre, E. Cleveland, O.; Mayor Frank L. Staiger, Port Huron, Mich.; John B. Vandermyde, Minneapolis, Minn.; Al Whitehouse, Cincinnati, O.

GENERAL CONFERENCE STATEMENT

An Affirmation of Christian Concern and a Call for Action in Relation to Economic Life

The Statement was adopted by the Conference in plenary session with one negative vote. It represents a basic policy and approach for the churches in their relation to economic life.

THE GOSPEL is concerned with all the activities of man, individual and social. Therefore, the Christian faith is relevant to the economic order. The Church, as the custodian of "the sacred and imperishable message of eternal salvation," is charged with a fourfold duty as Christians in fellowship confront the economic life. It must be the teacher of the principles of conduct; a voice of judgment; a guardian of moral and spiritual values already won; and the herald of a better day.

Christians judge all economic systems by the imperatives of the Christian faith; Christians must not identify any economic order with the Gospel. The Christian Gospel is not to be found in Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" nor in Karl Marx's "Kapital." It is to be found in Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, in the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of the New Testament, and the vision of St. John in the Revelation. It is to be found in the preaching of the Hebrew prophets, in the lives of saints and martyrs, in the service of the faithful followers of Christ, and in the continuing revelation of God. That faith affirms the supreme worth of persons. Institutions must be tested finally by their contribution to the enrichment of personality.

T

It is imperative that Christians confronting economic issues first accept Jesus Christ as Lord. He is our Saviour. Evangelism is the primary task of the Church, and of first importance is the personal experience of the love of God and of its transforming power in human life. Salvation means not only forgiveness of past sins but a new relationship with God which brings assurance of final victory over everything that comes between man and God.

Christians must demonstrate that God rules, and that men of differing views can be one in the determination to discover His will. Strong men charged with the direction of industry and strong men charged with leadership in labor and agriculture are obligated to bring dedicated minds to difficult problems and in the mutual sharing of rich experience to reach conclusions designed to create a more brotherly world. In such meetings, whether at national or local level, the technician and the prophet may be heard, and the views of men who carry responsibility considered. Technical competency also is necessary to translate the ethical ideal into the practice of the common life.

The spirit in which Christians approach the complex and baffling problems of contemporary society is of primary importance. Christians who meet to consider the economic life will do well to kneel in devotion before they rise for discussion. Men who bow in repentant spirit at the Table of the Lord make themselves ready to confer with brothers in the Spirit of the Lord. The Communion Table should precede the conference table, because conference with our fellows will be more productive when preceded by communion with our Christ.

If to such conferences Christians come with the determination to force a particular view upon others present; if they stoop to maneuvers that sometimes win majority vote but never create Christian community; if they allow themselves to be impressed by oratory that appeals to prejudice rather than by the still small voice with its appeal to conscience; then the coming together of Christians is unlikely to be productive of good and it might be wiser if they did not meet. But if, on the contrary, Christians meet in humility and in love, resolved to respect and to learn from each other; if they are determined to discover God's will for us and for our economic life and to submit all their thinking to the rule of Christ; if they meet not to debate but to deliberate; if they believe the Holy Spirit does guide and are willing to follow that guidance, then honest men and women who at present differ profoundly may discover in Christian fellowship both the spirit and practice essential for Christianizing our economic life.

II

Basically, the approach of the churches to the economic order is determined by the Christian conception of the worth of man. Christians believe that man is created by the Eternal and in His image, that every individual is a child of God, a member of one

family, a brother. Christians hold that man is a being of infinite worth, of such worth indeed that God out of love sent His Son that man by faith in Him might be saved. Man is a self-conscious personality, free to choose right and wrong, responsible, immortal.

The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. Likewise the economic order was made for man. Just as the State must be regarded as an instrument to be used by the people and for the people, so too the economic order with its technology and vast industrial machines, the riches of soil and of mineral wealth, must be regarded as God's gift whereby life shall be more abundant. Within that order power must be exercised under democratic control and justice established by the democratic process; freedom must be maintained so that the genius that lies in creative personalities may have full opportunity for expression, and men in the cooperation of the fullest employment may make the earth productive.

Christians hold that God's will has been revealed by His Son, and that the Church is summoned to teach the nations whatsoever things Christ commanded us. Economic practices therefore must be judged by ethical criteria. Whenever or wherever practices violate these principles, the Church must voice judgment and call men to the Christian way. The Church must keep before men the vision of the just and brotherly society as revealed in the Christian concept of the Kingdom of God, which we believe to be God's will for society. It is the faith of Christians that Jesus Christ is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. The advances achieved by the processes of reform and regeneration must be continued until at last economic practices are brought into accord with that Way, become expressions of that Truth, and are in keeping with that Life.

The principles Jesus taught are the revelation of God's will. We believe that the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, that God was in Christ, and that in the truth revealed by Him is to be found salvation for man and for society. Thus the Christian does not approach the economic order bound by the dogmatism of communist, socialist, or capitalist. He comes loyal to Christ, resolved to discover His will, and pledged to move forward in His spirit to make His Way regnant in the economic life. His question, therefore, is not: is it communist? is it socialist? but, is it Christian?

III

Christians acquainted with the centuries know that the struggle to emancipate the worker is part of the age-long resolve to lift man to the status of brother. Once the work of the world was done by slaves, but a brother in chains was a contradiction in terms. Slavery had to go. Serfdom was likewise brought under the judgment of God. Feudalism with its aristocracy and privilege gave way. The voice of democracy stirred the people to action with its insistence upon the rights of man, its denial of the divine right of kings, and its call for liberty, equality, and fraternity. Into the midst of this revolutionary surge came the industrial revolution. Handicraft industry was superseded by the factory system. The worker had ceased to be slave or serf. He had become a free man, free to sell his own labor where he himself determined. A mistaken conception was prevalent, that the unrestricted play of self-interest would in the long run mean social well-being. Laborers in factory and on farm, subjected to exploitation, sought to protect their interest by organizing labor unions. These were at first regarded as conspiracies and ruthlessly suppressed. In the course of the years, the right to organize was won, the worker became more powerful, and the democratic principle was introduced into the work-life. Meanwhile, ever widening research, the development of technology, the genius of management, the skill of labor, and a growing sense of social responsibility resulted in amazing advances.

But man is still exploited by his brother. Vast inequalities in wealth and therefore in status, fundamental differences in scales of value, and wide disparities in the possession of power create and maintain class consciousness. Class is a concept too small to unite men for social emancipation. Upon the basis of class, all that can be done is to make one class ready to fight another class. Man needs a larger unifying concept. It is found in the Christian ideal of brotherhood under the Fatherhood of God and the Christian teaching of the solidarity of the human family.

Time is of the essence. Principles that mean both unity and justice must be applied soon enough to turn man from the battle-field of class conflict to the cooperative avenues of peaceful progress. The fratricidal struggle of class war upon a world scale must be avoided.

The Christian knows that the Kingdom of God cannot be built upon foundations of economic injustice. He refuses to acquiesce in those inequalities that deny equal opportunity. Equality of consideration does not necessarily mean identity of treatment. The American lives in one of the freest lands upon the earth. His pursuit of happiness under the conditions of liberty has enriched life. Significant advances have been made in equalizing opportunity and further advances are possible and imperative, but when all such

socially controllable inequalities have been removed, there will remain sources of conflict that root in the sinfulness and greed of the human heart. The primary task of the Christian therefore continues to be one of evangelism in which the individual accepts Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour, becomes a new man in Christ Jesus, and moves out in cooperation with his fellow Christians to build an economic life more in accord with the will of God as revealed in Christ. The Gospel is not an opiate; it is, when applied, a regenerating force capable of transforming economic relations into a fellowship and the individual into a brother.

IV

Economic life now runs the gamut from the simplicity of primitive society to highly complex and colossal structures of the industrial state. Differing economic philosophies are reflected in different economic orders. Christians now live in various economic orders: communist, socialist, capitalist, mixed economies, and primitive society. No economic order known to man is worthy of the designation Christian. This is not to equate the different orders in terms of righteousness. The Christian society calls for both freedom and justice, and, much more, for brotherhood, and is the final repudiation of totalitarianism that denies liberty to the individual and of the materialism that debases the human soul.

V

Christians must discover a way in which we can reconcile the necessities of technology and the necessities of brotherhood. Christian concern moves beyond the declaration of principle. It considers concrete measures. How can man remove the contradiction that lies in his ability to produce and his inability to distribute in a morally just or rationally adequate way? How can he work out some synthesis by which the creative initiative that has flowed from individualism may be conserved and the benefits that lie in collective endeavor be appropriated? How can man remove the unjust disparities of income and thus of the necessities of life and thereby create one of the conditions of peace?

The hunger of any man anywhere becomes the concern of Christian men everywhere. It is a matter of Christian concern that the average per capita annual income in favored and efficient United States is from ten to fifteen times as great as that of persons in vast areas where children are hungry, health service almost nonexistent, and shelter inadequate.

Within the United States itself there are areas in which income is so low that fundamental injustices result and the people are unable to secure the bare necessities. Can the Christian complacently see production here reduced or surplus withheld while possibilities exist of distributing overabundance to help hungry human brothers to help themselves?

If man is exploited by man, that becomes an issue of graver import to the theistic Christian than to the atheistic communist. Unfortunately, masses of mankind think that communism is more opposed to the "exploitation of man by man" than is Christianity. They are wrong; and it is our high opportunity to prove them wrong. No true Christian is complacent in the face of periodic crises in which millions are denied work, consumers' needs are unmet, and unemployment becomes epidemic. Unemployed men, idle machines, and unused materials present at the same time and place do not make sense to men endowed with God-given reason. Christian principles must be translated into concrete measures expressive of the Christian ideal. This is a task for stewards whose economic insights, executive ability, and research skills are regarded as a sacred trust. Means must be discovered with which to realize moral ends.

The Church is summoned to new educational effort through which Christians may come to understand the demands of the Christian faith as Christians confront the economic order. The Church, in teaching the principles of conduct, must bring to society agreement in the realm of ends, and sufficient agreement in the matter of means to insure cooperation in progressing toward these objectives.

There is an obligation to inform the people concerning the facts of economic life. They should know in what ways the cooperation of management and labor has been achieved in many industries; and should become acquainted with the practices of the large and increasing number of Christian businessmen who are dedicating their talents to the practice of Christian principles in the economic order and to the sincere endeavor to discover means through which justice and brotherhood may be realized in labor relations. Such men are pioneering the way to the peaceful solution of the economic problem and to the better society. Many of the leaders of labor are prominent churchmen, but too few church-members are acquainted with the history of labor organizations, their contribution to democracy, and their significance in lifting the standards of life and in preserving freedom. The basic problems confronting agriculture and other primary producers are too little known.

There must be careful study of the results of the control of natural resources by a few, of the ethical standards practiced in some areas of economic life, of the controls exercised by concentrations of economic power over political institutions. Too often neglected is the consideration of the reasons for the steadily rising standard of life in the United States, of the remarkable achievements of American productive enterprise, of the research carried on by free men, and of the growing recognition of the place of labor in the free economy. Proposals for change must be examined in the light both of past performance and of freedom and justice.

Our past performance in America has been influenced substantially—at some points decisively—by Christianity. The Christian conscience has been a more important factor in progress toward justice than has any abstract principle of economics. Our institutions and traditions of freedom have permitted the churches to exert this influence. We must not assume that either governmental control or the automatic operation of any economic system can take the place of the conviction and action of Christian people working for justice in a free society. We would extend freedom; totalitarianism would destroy it. We must also resist the temptation to try short-cuts to justice through centralized authoritarian controls that tend to destroy freedom and undermine the sense of personal responsibility for each to be his brother's keeper in economic life.

Christians are opposed to all who would rule God out of the universe or out of the practices of the economic life. Atheism is unchristian, whether it be affirmed by a philosopher or expressed in practices that disregard God's will. The Church must attack the atheism of orthodox communism in which faith in God is called superstition and also such practical atheism as is present in contemporary capitalism in which God's will is regarded as irrelevant to the economic process, whenever or wherever it appears in the professions, in labor leadership, in farm organizations, in industrial ownership and management. Any order too largely driven by the acquisitive spirit, organized upon autocratic principles and grounded in materialism, must be changed to the end that the motive of service, the methods of mutual aid, the principles of democracy, and a philosophy that stresses the supremacy of personality shall be dominant.

VI

The Christian must face up to the issues that are involved both in free enterprise and in adequate planning for the common good.

There is a planning that does mean serfdom. There is a planning that does contribute to freedom. The freedom that enables private enterprise itself to plan must be preserved; but the freedom must be maintained that is essential to democratic decisions in which the people, through their government, plan, for example, for public education and health, conservation of natural resources, fiscal and foreign policy, national defense, cooperation in international bodies, as well as control of monopolies and restraint of antisocial individuals and groups.

The challenge to free enterprise that lies in monoply must be considered. Selfishness seldom thinks beyond immediate interests, and cannot be relied upon to plan for the well-being of future generations or for the conservation of natural resources. Freedom must be interpreted to include freedom for all men, the strong and the weak, the talented and the handicapped; and such freedom involves clear distinction between the planning that enslaves and the planning that emancipates.

The Church itself as employer must see that its practices square with its preaching. How are its own employees treated when compared with the treatment present in enlightened industry? What are its relations with organized labor? Has the church set its wage scales as a result of its adherence to Christian principle or because of the going wage won for the workers by the sacrifices and struggle of organized labor? A church that has not set its house in order is not in the proper place to summon the economic order to Christian standards.

VII

The Church must proclaim anew the Christian concept of vocation. All work must be seen in terms of its spiritual significance as helping to make possible fullness of life for all men everywhere. The Reformation doctrine of the calling of the Christian man must be reemphasized, and all work must be done "as unto God." The Lord is present not alone in the broken bread and sacred wine of Holy Communion, but is present, too, in the sacred labor that brings to man his daily bread. When a man thinks of himself as a priest of God, his work becomes a sacred calling.

The Church has an unique opportunity and obligation to become a force for reconciliation, without becoming a chaplain to the status quo. Within its membership are men and women of every walk of life. They kneel together at a common altar. Together they

listen to the reading of the sacred word and the preaching of the unsearchable riches of Christ. Together they recite the affirmations of faith and sing the hymns of the Church. Together they must meet the issues of social life and of economic order. The Church knows the individual not alone as the head of an industry or the leader of a labor organization, but as a soul in search of God.

The Church meets human beings who are in need of fellowship, in need of forgiveness, in need of a Father. It sees brothers at times engaged in industrial struggle, but it sees them too when they rejoice in the achievement of a son or bow in sorrow when a loved one passes away. The Church knows that each man must stand at last before his Maker and give account for his stewardship. Out of the fellowship of the Church should come such understanding that men, standing in the shadow of the Cross, will resolve that, in the name of Christ and with the blessing of the Eternal, they will work together to the end that our economic life shall be more worthy of the name Christian.

AGENDA TOPIC REPORTS

TOPIC A

The Individual: Conflicting Motives and Claims

The Report of Agenda Topic A was accepted by the Conference and, as amended, was commended to the churches for study and appropriate action. The vote was 196 in favor, none against.

I. Economic Motivation

Our conviction is that in the Spirit of Christ, working through persons, we can find the answers to our serious social problems. Contemporary society, however, has become so mechanized, interdependent, and complex that it is increasingly difficult for the individual to discern Christian motivations and to understand their relevance and application.

Motives affecting our economic life include not only those representing purely selfish desires, but also those which legitimately serve the individual's basic needs, those which serve the needs of others in ever-widening circles, and those which approach the perfect will of God for all men.

The Church recognizes such basic motivations concerned with the individual's need as the desire for subsistence, personal and family security, group recognition, creative self-expression, and opportunity for accomplishment in vocation. Yet these motivations cannot fulfill the individual's commitment to Christ. Christian motivation is directed toward the total well-being of others as well as of one's self, with due regard to social justice and the personal dignity and eternal worth of every human being. The human needs of others must be met in a spirit of selfless service and permeated with Christian compassion. For the Christian, love is the basis for all human relationships and lies at the core of the Christian ethic. This love demands fellowship in brotherhood, as well as reverence for the earth as God's creation through conservation of the natural resources given for man's self-realization and for the ultimate realization of the Kingdom of God.

In the complex of economic motivation the Christian emphasis

is placed upon persons as persons. Persons are not to be regarded as economic expendables. In the functioning of economic institutions and systems the individual Christian will so align his cluster of economic desires with the mind of Christ that differences of race, nationality, class, and religion will be transcended in a common concern for the total welfare of all the children of God.

In the achievement of Christian motivation the individual Christian will constantly examine his own desires in the light of his own need of repentance and for the continuing grace of God to assist him toward the development of Christ-like attitudes and Christ-like methods in his own relation to economic needs and functions. To achieve this Christian motivation the individual Christian, whatever his particular place in the economic system, must needs nurture all the spiritual resources which fellowship in the Christian community makes available to him for responsible total growth.

Through economic activity of whatever sort, the individual Christian will be motivated by the desire to do the best possible task, in self-sacrificing service for his fellows, doing all things to the glory of God and to the increasing welfare of his fellow men.

II. Areas of Conflict in Motivation

For the Christian, responsibility for the welfare and freedom of others takes priority over his desire, however worthy, for his own individual freedom. Deeply understanding the true meaning of life, he must realize his sense of freedom within the framework of his Christian duty to serve others. Every talent, capacity and possession—indeed life itself—is entrusted to man by God; hence to covet material wealth for its own sake is unchristian. Nor can a worthy use of wealth justify unfair, exploitative, devious or dishonest methods in its acquisition. Individuals have a sacred obligation to discharge diligently and responsibly as servants of God their stewardship over whatever they may possess.

Working in cooperation with others rather than against them is in accordance with Christian motivation. If by competition is meant the motive whereby one vies with others in serving mankind, then competition is an essential factor in a good society. If, however, competition in economic life leads men to compete in the acquisition of wealth for its own sake or in the use of power over one's fellows or to gain special privilege which bars others from the goods of life, then that competition must be judged unchristian.

Christian motivation requires that in all economic decisions, by

whomever made, persons be regarded as children of God, never as

merely means to economic ends.

The will to adventure for worthy objectives is essential to a dynamic, progressive society. Respect for personality requires that individuals and groups be enabled and encouraged so far as possible to provide for their own basic security. But in a society marked, like ours, by interdependence and by hazards over which the individual can exercise no control, there is social as well as individual responsibility for decent security for the aged and for dependent children and for protection against unemployment, disability and ill-health.

III. Toward a More Christian Economic Society

The standards of living of the American people have been built to the highest level in the history of mankind. It is probable, too, that the American people enjoy today a greater measure of real freedom

than has been enjoyed by any other people in history.

Nevertheless, Christians must face the fact that in many respects modern society falls far short of the Christian pattern, even in democratic nations like the United States. Economic insecurity, due to lack of steady employment, uncertainty of income, and other factors, results in individual tensions. While mechanized mass production has contributed significantly to the satisfaction of wants, and in many cases, to the elimination of physically heavy work, it has also resulted in many jobs which are impersonal, monotonous, and often spiritually depressing. Vast inequalities of wealth and income limit fellowship, diminish equality of opportunity, and narrow regard for the just needs of others. Unfair action against competitors, exploitation of labor, and slow-downs, to mention only three of many undesirable practices, cannot be squared with the requirements of Christian motivation.

In contrast to the practice of totalitarian states which regard the individual as an impersonal cog in a machine, free societies like ours should seek to personalize jobs so as to provide for a larger measure of individual self-realization.

Application of Christian motives to problem situations will in many cases effect a solution. The employer, for example, who decides to move or not to move his business from one community to another, on the basis of a full consideration of human values involved, or who attempts to make provision for workers displaced under circumstances where such an action becomes imperative, illustrates the application of the Christian motive. The employer who, in slack times, undertakes to prevent the discharge of capable

employees having family responsibility is to be commended. Where management adopts policies which bring about a real communication with workers and a participation in decisions on the part of both labor and management, commendation from the point of view of Christian motivation is in order. The members of a labor union are to be commended for acting in accord with Christian motives when their decisions take account of the welfare of other groups and of the general consuming public. Union members are likewise to be commended when they work with an employer to promote the general public interest. Many a farmer also commendably regards his vocation as a Christian calling, and makes many of his economic decisions in accordance with Christian motivation.

Individual Christians and the Church as a whole should do everything possible to bring an end to predatory practices of every sort. The individual Christian must consider his influence in increasing gross inequality in the distribution of wealth and income. Inequality can be justified only on the basis of differences in actual contributions to the common good. It is a continuing duty of the Church to support and encourage every effort to enable all families to live in decency. A more Christian economic society calls for the extension into economic life of the ethical principles of freedom, justice, and brotherhood, as well as the democratic principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, through the promotion of the common welfare in the form of greater opportunity, security, and fellowship for all.

IV. The Church's Contribution

The Church should challenge and help the individual to transform social tensions and difficulties into wholesome human relationships. The individual, in turn, has a Christian duty to challenge the Church to perform this function. Christians need to deepen their sense of spiritual values if they are to understand and resolve the

tensions and difficulties which they confront.

The Christian, as an individual, may well test his own attitudes concerning his relations with those with whom he deals and comes in contact in his daily life by asking himself: (1) What relationships or practices toward my fellowmen do I follow which I could not justify toward the Person of Christ himself? ("Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me.") (2) Am I willing to accept wholeheartedly the Christian principle under which there would be no barriers of race, nationality, class, or religion, and what efforts have I myself made toward

the reconciliation which this involves? (3) To what extent are my own decisions in all these areas made in the spirit and atmosphere of prayer? (4) To what extent have I asked what Jesus would have me do?

In times of tension like the present the Church should especially recognize prophetic witness on the part of the individual, and the Church should support the individual who tries, through self-sacrifice, to put into practice the Christian ethic with Christian motivation.

The Church should attempt to discover the actual social injustices and human needs of the total community; it should provide means whereby these problems may be understood; and it should offer leadership in bringing together the resources of the community to solve these problems and mitigate the conflicts they involve.

True Christian motivation, under guidance of the Holy Spirit, will help the Church and its members to discover ways toward the just solution of our most grievous social problems. The reconciliation of the tensions involved in these problems is certainly available in many instances through the voluntary action of individuals dedicating themselves, through unselfish service, to the common welfare. Some problems of this nature may be solved within voluntary economic association. Action of society as a whole, through governmental measures, is not indicated except in the case of problems which cannot be resolved by free individual action or voluntary group action.

Emphasis should be laid upon the requirements that Christians should approach economic problems as Christian persons; that they should act as reconciling agents in conflict situations; that they should give open-minded consideration to all the economic facts involved; and that they should participate in conferences for the discussion of the application of Christian principles to economic problems. It should be emphasized, further, that it is part of the individual Christian's duty to perform his task in the economic life justly, responsibly, and to the best of his ability as unto God.

The economic order will approach the requirements of the ethics of Jesus Christ when individual motivations are examined and corrected in the light of the Gospel. It is an urgent duty of the individual Christian and the entire Christian Church to evaluate in Christian terms the economic motivations of society and to chart the course whereby the society of men can be transformed in accordance with the purposes of the Kingdom of God and of His Christ.

TOPIC B

Organized Groups: Freedom of Enterprise and Social Controls

The Report on Agenda Topic B was accepted by the Conference and, as amended, was commended to the churches for study and appropriate action. The vote was 202 in favor, 15 against.

As Christians we seek a society of freedom, order, justice, and fraternity in which men pursuing such basic values are continually open to the transforming influence of God's grace.

We seek a dynamic, *free* society in which there is opportunity to agree and disagree on many important goals for society and the means of achieving them; a society also in which people find their fullest freedom in the use of their liberties to increase the freedoms of others.

We seek an *orderly* society in which individuals and groups will use those social controls which will aid in stabilizing the economy at levels of employment providing work opportunities for all ready, able, and willing to work, and so increasing standards of living.

We seek a *just* society in which the common good is recognized as best served when individuals realize fully their responsibility for productive effort in the interests of society. In such a society Christians will seek to make its benefits available as widely as possible, especially among its exposed and depressed citizens, as well as to reward individuals for their productive effort.

We seek a *fraternal* society in which God's will that we love one another as brothers is expressed in a mutuality of sacrifice and service, and by an awareness that in an interdependent economy the needs and interests of others are as important as our own.

We seek also a *productive* society in which our resources are efficiently utilized in the service of these values.

Our Christian responsibilities should be discharged both on the level of self-restrained individual action and also on the level of developing institutions, groups, and an economic system which will give the individual the greatest opportunity to serve these values. For example, we as Christians feel a deep obligation to God to aid low-income groups in our economy. We can help them by individual Christian acts of personal assistance, and by supporting social welfare services — both public and voluntary. But we cannot achieve justice for these groups unless we find remedies for the basic causes of their poverty. The price policies pursued by various individuals, private groups, and government effect the degree of justice our society achieves, for price decisions greatly influence the effectiveness with which labor, capital, and land are used in enriching the lives of our people.

Groups of Christians, if they are to be effective in their witness, must attempt to discover, as far as they can, what are for them the specific goals and methods to be pursued in a particular society. But such suggestions of goals and methods must always be viewed from the perspective of a Christian ethic which transcends our culture and is continually open to the power of God's grace.

There are two extreme positions taken as to the best economic policy for our society in the major areas of our economy: (a) the establishment of what is assumed to be an unregulated price system;* (b) the planning and allocating of resources and the setting of prices and production by public authorities in key areas. The present economy conforms to neither position. There are various positions taken between these two extremes. We seek the use of a price system which has been strengthened in its operation and corrected in its abuses through various social controls. Some of the most crucial social controls are in the area of stabilizing incomes through regulation of the volume of money in the economy and of governmental taxes and expenditures. Christians and church groups seeking to educate people to take responsible economic action should understand these areas of our economy and clarify for themselves the action they believe ought to be taken to best serve such values as freedom and justice in these areas.

In regard to price policy, we recognize that we now live in an increasingly complex and interdependent economy with social structures which limit our choice of action. We cannot, for example, talk realistically in terms of restoring an unregulated competitive price system in our country. We know certain social controls are neces-

^{*} Another term sometimes used for this position is "laissez-faire capitalism." As used in this report, the terms "price policy" and "price system" include the determination of the rates of interest, the prices of goods and services, and the compensation of employees.

sary, but we should scrutinize every proposal for greater control and judge whether it serves one value—such as order or justice—to a denial of other important values such as freedom. We believe that basic values can best be achieved in many basic areas by a private free price system which can allocate resources more freely and efficiently than government. We would favor making the bulk of our economic decisions as to allocation of resources and the production and distribution of commodities through a price system whose functions are discharged by private individuals and economic groups; but proper decisions and institutional arrangements need to be worked out in at least three areas in keeping with the basic values of justice and fraternity: (1) economic stabilization; (2) income distribution; (3) monopoly and power group control.

I. Economic Stabilization

A major responsibility of government shared by all individuals and economic groups is the achievement of economic stabilization. This responsibility should not be evaded by individuals, by economic groups, or by government. It must be a continuing one, not exercised only when we are in economic difficulties. In broad terms, the government program might be outlined as follows: In times of inflation the government should take steps to decrease the amount of money in the economy. The amount of taxes should be increased, and the amount of government expenditures not necessary for critical commitments decreased, to develop a budget surplus so that less money income is available to be spent on goods and services. Conversely in deflation, the government should stimulate demand by reduction of taxes without a corresponding reduction in public expenditures on goods and services. Government policies should also have as their objective the preservation of a dynamic, flexible economy.

With an economy of powerfully organized business and agriculture, as well as labor, our democratic society is impelled to find means of encouraging these groups to keep their claims for income in line with adequate stability goals. Is government acquiescence in a constantly inflationary trend during high levels of employment an adequate solution to price-power problems, if it invites groups "to get theirs" in an inflationary free-for-all? With the existence of powerful economic groups acting independently, and frequently by their actions adversely affecting the general welfare, there is need for the development of democratic machinery in which the interests

of consumers, farmers, employers, and labor may be brought into

more equitable balance.

and the responsibilities to be carried out in dealing with depressed the types of taxes to be used, the types of expenditures to be made, There are grave moral problems which Christians must face in

areas of our economy.

Income Distribution

centives, production, new and small business, the welfare of lowshould be evaluated with full consideration for its effect upon inprocedure from an economic and Christian perspective. Tax policy the reduction of inequalities of income that now exist is a desirable We recognize that the extensive use of tax policies which affect

income groups, and the standard of living.

must be distributed as justly as possible. A more just program of amount we spend on social insurance and other welfare programs would be reduced by further equalization of income. Therefore, the most part upon our total national production which at some point spend collectively on various public commitments depends for the weighs heavily upon us. What we as a nation will have available to The responsibility of adequate economic provision for old age

government program and a substantial increase of its payments. social security can be achieved through extension of coverage of the

necessary aid is through the medium of the federal government. This the most feasible method for securing geographical distribution of the therefore help them meet their responsibilities. At the present time as adequate facilities as others. The wealthier communities should distribution of wealth and income some communities cannot provide educational opportunities for its children. But because of unequal public funds. Each community should do its best to provide adequate Public education should have a high priority in the expenditure of selves give rise to so large a part of present inequalities of income. move those inequalities of educational opportunity which themand equal opportunity for an adequate education. We wish to re-It is our Christian responsibility to assure to our people a full

It is a further responsibility of a society seeking to be Christian local and state controls. federal aid to public education should be granted without impairing

and broaden them to achieve this goal as quickly as possible. other health services. We should mobilize resources now available crimination, full access to adequate, modern medical, surgical, and to take positive action now to assure to all our people, without dis-

III. Power Groups and Social Control

The problem of making organized groups responsible overshadows all our economic considerations.*

The degree of freedom which can exist in our society will be influenced by the amount of self-restraint with which organized economic power is exercised. The Christian faith is a profound source of the human sympathy and righteous direction necessary for responsible action. Man must also support and develop those institutions which offer the greatest hope for the democratic, constructive channeling of economic power and pressure groups.

Such institutions as cooperative marketing and buying and collective bargaining have aided in making economic power more responsible. It is now suggested by various groups that other institutions also are necessary if a just and free society is to be maintained with our present power blocs.

One general proposal calls for "Industry Councils." For some people, industry councils would be organizations including the participation of organized labor as a co-equal with management in making basic decisions, with government acting largely as the arbiter between positions taken by the independent power groups. For others, industry councils would include wider representation of groups such as consumers and the professions. For still others, the industry council proposal does not face the fact that some action of powerful economic groups must be checked and coordinated by democratic political instruments.

These proposals are so crucial for our economy that they should be carefully studied. We favor, as one means of making power blocs and pressure groups more responsible, the fuller development of voluntary groups carrying out research and discussion in economic affairs, so that pertinent facts as to the effects of group action may be known to the groups and to the public. A voluntary group for securing mutual understanding among leaders of power groups, as well as for bringing public opinion to bear in behalf of the common good, might be a national congress or conference of individuals drawn from the ranks of business, agriculture, labor, the professions, and the general public. Such a conference, meeting as individuals with a

^{*} The use of a price system in key areas of the economy requires that proper social controls be exercised over various forms of monopoly. The Conference did not have time to discuss the various alternative policies available to our nation or to arrive at a consensus as to the best course of action. The Conference recognized the necessity for careful study by Christians of this area of economic action.

wide variety of experience, but not as official representatives of special interests, could have a great influence upon public opinion. To aid in making more effective these national conferences, we strongly recommend the establishment and regular meetings of local groups, representing all phases of our community life, wherein these vital economic problems may be discussed fully and real understanding developed. We also suggest a study of such government corporations as TVA, as one method of utilization of our natural resources.

So great and pressing are these problems and so halting and selfish has been our leadership in solving them, that a mood of deep repentance is upon us. As individuals and as organized groups we have left undone those things we ought to have done, and have done those things that we ought not to have done. God gave us life and His only begotten Son for our individual salvation through His mercy, and laid upon each of us the obligation for service to

TOPIC C

The World: The American Economy in Relation to World Needs and Resources

The Report on Agenda Topic C was accepted by the Conference and, as amended, was commended to the churches for study and appropriate action. The vote was 227 in favor, 8 against.

THE UNITED STATES has developed a many-sided economy on a high level of prosperity to a degree never before witnessed. The value of its industrial production during the inter-war period was nearly half of that of the entire world. It has become the primary source of international loan capital and the world's greatest creditor nation. By 1939 the annual per capita income of the United States was about \$550 as compared with an average of less than \$50 for twenty-eight comparatively underdeveloped countries representative of two-thirds of the world's population. Most European countries occupy an intermediate position.

The average American had at his command 37.6 horsepower hours of energy available each day, as compared to 1.2 horsepower hours for a person in the underdeveloped countries. His daily food supply was over 3,000 calories. This was about 40% higher than the average for the twenty-eight underdeveloped countries, which was precariously close to the life-sustaining minimum. His life expectancy was 62 years. Theirs was between 30 and 40 years. These disparities have not decreased during the past decade. The average 1947 income per person in the United States has been estimated at more than \$1,400 while in the bulk of the underdeveloped countries it was less, and sometimes much less, than \$100. One of the consequences of this position is that economic readjustments or business recessions in America have serious consequences in other countries and are felt throughout the world.

The moral responsibilities of a nation holding such a degree of power are tremendous. It must be the purpose of the Christian Church to help our nation to accept these responsibilities in humility and faith.

We are convinced that war is not inevitable, and we believe

that the American people, as the largest producers and consumers of the world's goods, have three basic economic responsibilities:

- (1) to use their economic strength in such a way as to contribute to a just and durable peace;
 - (2) to safeguard and promote social and economic welfare in the United States;
 - (3) to assist other countries to attain basic self-support and a decent standard of living.

We believe that these responsibilities are closely interrelated. Expanding our trade with and aiding in the development of other countries promotes our domestic prosperity. It increases the ability of other countries, in particular the underdeveloped countries, to resist internal pressures towards totalitarianism, and hence reduces the menace to peace from that direction. We have a moral obligation to use our relative abundance as good stewards in an interdependent world. In discharging this obligation, the special interests of individuals and groups in the United States must often be subordinated to the general interest. Economic and social welfare in the United States cannot in the long run be assured unless United States policy takes fully into account the entire range of economic responsibility which the economic position of our country in the world imposes upon us.

The United States has, by accepting membership in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and in other ways, given economic commitments to cooperate with other countries with a view to achieving and maintaining high levels of economic activity and employment and raising standards of living throughout the world. We believe these economic commitments are in harmony with the Christian ethic. It is a Christian duty to see that they are translated into action.

In assessing the responsibility of our nation for international economic welfare, in the light of the Christian ethic, we set forth the following guiding principles:

(1) The United States has a moral obligation to appraise the consequences in other countries of our economic policies, including many policies affecting our internal stability and employment that have hitherto been considered of solely domestic concern. Whenever feasible, the United States should undertake consultations prior to putting into effect policies having major repercussions in other countries.

- (2) The United States has a corresponding obligation to consider any soundly conceived plans for international action to mitigate severe economic fluctuations. The spread of economic depression from one country to another has been met in the past by measures of retaliation and counter-retaliation. The Christian ethic requires that this practice should not be repeated.
- (3) The United States, as the greatest creditor and exporting nation, has a responsibility to adopt positive measures to facilitate imports. Such action is required to bring our international accounts into balance at a high level of transactions, to provide our people with the maximum opportunity to enjoy the fruits of mutually advantageous international trade, and to ensure that the economic progress of other countries is not stifled because of inability to pay for the American products necessary for their economic progress.
- (4) In addition, in order to bring our international accounts into balance at a high level of transactions, it is necessary that our capital should flow abroad in steady and substantial amounts. Such an outflow is also essential to supplement the efforts of other countries to increase the rate of their economic development, which, though necessarily a relatively slow process, can be substantially accelerated with the aid of our capital. The President has stated the principle that our foreign investment should be carried forward without exploitation and should benefit the receiving countries in all cases. If private capital goes abroad under these conditions, the Government should seek for it fair and equitable treatment. The capital-receiving countries should be willing to provide for such treatment in treaties of friendship, commerce, and economic development freely negotiated on a fully reciprocal basis.
- (5) The United States has a continuing responsibility for assisting the solution of the economic problems that weaken the Western World. Under the European Recovery Program, it is a proper condition of American assistance that the receiving countries shall take measures that will make American aid effective. The policies to be jointly developed for the solution of these problems may be of the most varied kind, leading to the ultimate interconvertibility of currencies and greater economic cooperation or even integration within Europe. We do not presume to pronounce on the technical adequacy of specific measures now under consideration.
- (6) It should be the policy of the United States that if surpluses of food and agricultural raw materials occur in this country, every reasonable effort should be made to get them into the hands of those

who are inadequately fed or clothed either at home or abroad. The occurence of such surpluses may indicate a wrong use of productive resources, faulty methods of distribution, or unwise policies. Policies which may have contributed to their accumulation should be reexamined.

(7) The Government and people of the United States have a responsibility to share technical and scientific knowledge and methods with the people of underdeveloped countries in such ways as will help to meet the genuine needs of these peoples. The program of technical assistance should be offered to underdeveloped countries on the basis not only of the needs of their people, but of their capacity to absorb and use constructively for their general welfare the assistance offered. The dangers of abrupt basic changes in established cultures require that the assistance program include educational and cultural help in developing social institutions and patterns adapted to their old culture and their new situation. Exaggerated hopes as to the speed with which the economic life of countries can be transformed by such means should be discouraged.

Such assistance should be rendered in all cases only when the receiving country shares in the planning and is willing to cooperate effectively in the program. Great care must be taken in recruiting the right type of personnel and giving them special training in the culture and needs of the areas to which they go. In implementing the Point 4 program, it is vital that we demonstrate by both words and deeds that our interest in the well-being of peoples of underdeveloped nations, while related to our own well-being, is free from any desire to exploit or oppress them or to seek any special privileges. To this end technical assistance should be given to the people of underdeveloped countries in developing credit unions, agricultural and other cooperatives, and other types of economic organizations which lend themselves to ownership by the people themselves in underdeveloped areas.

- (8) While we should try to ensure that any program of assistance will accomplish lasting results, we must not assume that the particular economic patterns of our own country are necessarily the most adequate or efficient for other nations.
- (9) An important feature of the program of technical assistance is the training in this country of men and women from the underdeveloped areas. The Christian people of the United States should open their homes in friendly hospitality to such representatives from other countries, and give them every opportunity to observe the

institutions through which our common life functions, and participate in our common life insofar as their studies and training program permit. The social and cultural interchange within our reach because of the presence among us of thousands of leaders and future leaders from all parts of the world will enrich their lives and ours, and deepen that mutual understanding so essential to the achievement of our cooperative plans for technical and economic advance.

(10) The United Nations and its specialized agencies should receive increasing moral and financial support. The programs of technical assistance and other governmental programs involving widespread international cooperation should be organized through the United Nations whenever practicable in order to strengthen the United Nations, to draw the contributions of other countries into the programs, and to reduce the temptation to put special United States interests affected by them ahead of larger long-run interests. Non-governmental agencies and institutions should also be encouraged to participate in such activities. A significant contribution can be made by Christian medical, educational, and agricultural missions.

* * * *

We recognize that strategic considerations make a completely rational economic policy impossible. But we must not allow these considerations to force us into purely negative positions. Thus, for instance, the fear of German war potential must be weighed against the necessity of allowing Germany to develop its productive power, both for its own sake and for the sake of the economic health of the whole of Europe; and the Chinese market for Japanese goods cannot be closed off if the Japanese nation is to be restored to economic health. Furthermore, the whole problem of our trade relations to China must be considered with the hope of drawing Asia into the orbit of the free world by moral and economic attraction.

Similar issues present themselves on every hand, as for instance the policy of export control over shipments to countries in the Russian orbit, the policy of requiring stock-piling of strategic materials, and the protection of industries important for national defense. This Conference does not attempt to express a judgment upon all these issues, but it does call attention to the serious danger that too consistent preoccupation with the contingencies of war will militate against the moral and economic measures required to achieve peace.

We believe that the economic measures required for the stability and health of both our own nation and the nations jointly committed with us to the principles of a free society should be part of a general political program. The total purpose of this program should be to create a more genuine sense of community among all peoples.

We repeat that war is not inevitable. While we recognize the existing necessity for military defense against the menace of totalitarianism, we hold that this moral, political, and economic program is the primary essential for the positive achievement of an enduring peace. The best way of avoiding a military encounter with totalitarianism lies in proving that only a free world can achieve standards of unity, justice, and progress which increasingly satisfy the needs and the conscience of all people.

TOPIC D

The Churches: Their Program in Relation to Economic Life

The Report on Agenda Topic D was accepted by the Conference and, as amended, was commended to the churches for study and appropriate action. The vote was 123 in favor, 8 against.

Since all economic systems are man-made and vitally affect the lives of individuals, such systems need to be judged in the light of the Christian faith. One of the chief duties of the church, therefore, is to bring Christian values to bear on economic beliefs, practices, and conflicts.

The churches' task in this field should include:

I. The Development of Informed Christian Attitudes

The Church accepts as a basic responsibility the development of those attitudes which are fostered by the practice of Christian teaching and the experience of Christian fellowship. Among these attitudes are the following recognitions:

- (a) Every individual, regardless of race, creed, sex, or economic status, is a being of infinite worth in the sight of God.
- (b) Christian love in action calls for concern for the total welfare of all groups and persons.
- (c) The Christian, as a member of society, is responsible for exerting Christian influence on the character and social direction of all groups to which he belongs.
- (d) The good of the total community is always to be sought above group or individual advantage.
- (e) Every worthy vocation is a call to Christian service, and man's knowledge, skills, and wealth are gifts of God to be used in fulfilling His purposes among men.
- (f) As a disciple of Christ one should examine humbly and critically not only the social order but his own relationship to it.



II. The Investigation of Facts and Relationships

The study of pertinent facts about our economic life is essential to an intelligent program of Christian education and action. Such study includes information concerning the needs and aspirations of men and likewise an understanding of the emotional tensions which social conflicts create.

Adequate facilities for research and study should be provided through national church bodies. Arrangements with universities for projects assigned to graduate students for study offer a resource that can be used both locally and nationally. Local congregations, denominations, neighborhood groups, and councils of churches might well arrange conferences in which church people may

- (a) secure facts and express views concerning health, housing, and other factors which vitally affect the welfare of their communities;
- (b) meet with representatives of labor, management, farming, the professions, and other consumer groups in order to understand better the purposes and practices of these organizations and to discover and extend the areas of agreement which underlie their respective attitudes.

III. The Education of Clergy, Officers, and Church Members

To live as Christians in the economic order and to make it more Christian demands an understanding of the basic facts, the problems it raises for Christian faith and ethics, and how the economy may be improved.

As a part of its regular program the church should

- (a) set forth basic Christian principles for economic practices;
- (b) evaluate various economic systems and practices in the light of Christian principles;
- (c) study the causes and proposed solutions of such problems as unemployment, world trade, living standards, and wage-price-profit relationships.

Basic in such a program is a well-educated clergy with a broad knowledge of economic problems, sympathetic understanding of human behavior, and first-hand experience in dealing with individuals and groups in office, shop, farm, and factory.

It is also important that selected theological students be pre-

pared, by adequate training, to deal with problems peculiar to various economic groups and issues.

To meet similar needs of ministers already in the field, we recommend the offering of short courses and in-service training.

Special opportunities beyond the usual seminary curriculum may be provided through seminars, periods of interneship in farm or factory, summer work camps, sabbatical leaves for travel, and special library facilities.

A basic task of the church is the enlistment and training of lay people in the meaning and practical applications of the Christian faith to economic life. To this end, churches should

- (a) organize and supervise study groups, retreats, and conferences;
- (b) provide systematic training in church school classes, adult and young people's groups and other organizations, for the application of Christian principles to economic life;
- (c) offer the kind of education in better economic relations which will pervade the total educational program of the church. Economic implications can often be incorporated effectively into curricula and programs of every type (including evangelistic and missionary) for all age levels. The denominational press and boards of education should be encouraged to deal more adequately with economic concerns.

More adequate methods of Christian education in this field are necessary. The church cannot wisely limit itself to sermons and traditional techniques alone, but must draw upon the experience of educational and other non-church organizations for methods which have been effective in stimulating interest, forming attitudes, and dealing with controversial issues through democratic discussion, group experience, and action. Wider use of visual aids, drama and worship, visitation and exchanges with members of groups with different social and economic backgrounds, should be encouraged. In addition to church publications, helpful materials from other sources may be used to good advantage. Books on these subjects should be made available through church and public libraries.

Church leaders might plan and carry out more effective types of Christian education by (a) meetings, workshops, forums, seminars, and specific projects; (b) informal fellowship groups organized along vocational or other lines; (c) periodic retreats or planning conferences; (d) cooperation with neighbor churches and other com-

munity organizations; (e) special study conferences on the Church and Economic Life patterned on the Detroit Conference.

IV. The Church Setting an Example

In all their efforts to make our economic life more Christian, churches must practice what they preach:

- (a) Their doors should be open to all. "Class churches" are a denial of the Church universal. Instead of deserting the field, churches in changing neighborhoods should in many cases adapt themselves to the new needs and demands.
- (b) On boards and committees of local churches, and in national and international councils of the church, members of all groups should be enlisted.
- (c) Churches and church organizations are active participants in economic life as employers, purchasers, recipients of gifts, and property owners. They face such problems as wages, use of invested funds, fair employment practices, relations with labor unions, pensions, and rentals. In all these areas churches must conform to the highest ethical standards for the sake of their own integrity and the setting of a good example to others. We urge the publishing agencies of our churches and Christian organizations to carry the union label on their printed materials.
- (d) Inadequate standards of ministerial pay and recognition have too long prevailed. To insure low-income and rural areas of first-rate ministerial leadership, denominational subsidies and recognition should be adequately supplied.

V. The Application of Christian Principles to Concrete Economic Situations

In economic as in other areas, Christians must demonstrate their faith by action. Though individual Christians often differ widely on specific economic issues, their churches can only maintain their moral leadership in this field by taking definite Christian stands on economic policies and principles. Where Christian moral standards are involved:

- (a) The social and economic efforts of various churches may often be made most effective through a council of churches or a coordinating interdenominational council of representatives of church boards and social action groups.
 - (b) After careful consideration of moral issues in the economic

order, church bodies should prepare official statements for reference

to local churches for study and action.

(c) The churches would do well to encourage qualified members to enter political life; they should encourage their people to support qualified public officials who seek to apply Christian principles in their decisions on public issues. Members of churches should inform elected representatives and government officials of their position on proposed legislation.

(d) Before economic situations become critical, church members and groups would do well to search out facts that may prove useful in the churches' ministry of reconciliation and service. Churches at all times ought so to conduct themselves as to merit

the confidence of leaders in labor, industry, and agriculture.

(e) Church leaders should cultivate good working relations with the radio and press.

(f) Laymen can play a vital role in working out problems of

human relations in economic life by

(1) extending, as employers, equal and unsegregated work opportunities to all;

(2) practicing, as workers, the principles of brotherhood in their relations with all fellow workers;

(3) finding and setting forth the truth about economic conditions, speaking out against particular injustices, and taking constructive action to overcome inequalities and wrongs.

(g) Church members should work with extra-church groups and non-Christian people who share common concerns and aims

in the field of economic life.

(h) Christians engaged in agriculture, business, labor, management, and the professions should be encouraged to serve actively in church organizations to the end that churches and church-related institutions shall be made more effective and efficient in serving the Kingdom of God throughout our economic life.

ADDITIONAL CONFERENCE ACTIONS

Ι

We urge the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to convene a special meeting of experts — representative of agriculture, industry, labor, and government — to study the problems involved in the use and development of productive resources and methods of distribution in agriculture, aiming at the development of adequate methods of making our surplus production available to those in serious need of foodstuffs at home and abroad.

II

Whereas this Conference has repeatedly affirmed its faith that all the resources and energies of the earth were created by God for the benefit and fulfillment of man, and whereas this generation of mankind, plagued by conflict, strife, and war, has presumed to extract from the very universe its basic latent energy and to fashion that energy into weapons of unknown and apparently almost limitless life-destroying powers, and

Whereas it therefore becomes the solemn, inescapable, and primary obligation of the Church and of Christians everywhere to work tirelessly and by every means at their command for the creation of institutions on the earth strong enough to restrain the will to war of any and every nation, to channel these newly released universal energies to uses beneficial to man, and thus to prevent the self-destruction of mankind, and

Whereas it is historically true that that which was at one time impossible to achieve among men becomes possible when conditions arise which make its achievement essential to the survival of mankind, and

Whereas the United States has itself proposed a world authority for the effective control and peaceful development of atomic energy, and

Whereas from many nations and from millions of people there have come in recent days insistent demands that action be taken by people and nations for the solution of the present tragic world situ-

ation and for the substitution of effective world law for the present unbounded race in armaments, and

Whereas national leaders, organizations, and organs of public opinion in the United States have called for action to these same ends, and

Whereas the Christian Church cannot fail to be at the forefront of such efforts,

Therefore be it *resolved* that this Conference calls upon the Federal Council of Churches to take such steps as may be necessary, through the Department of International Justice and Goodwill, to carry forward the most intensive program of study, meetings, and conferences to bring to bear the widest possible coordination of religious forces in the country for consideration of all the implications of the present world situation, with especial reference to the atomic and hydrogen bomb and to the evident necessity of progressive strengthening of the United Nations to the end that it may become an agency capable of actually preventing war among nations.

And be it furthermore *resolved* that we urge the governments of the world, through the United Nations or in other ways, to seek conferences at the earliest possible date for the purpose of removing the terrifying threat to humanity inherent in the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

APPENDIX A

The Conference Program THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16

MORNING

8:00	Registration of Delegates
10:00	The Conference Opens—Plenary Session—Opening remarks by Arthur S. Flemming, Chairman of the Conference
11:00	Worship Service in the Central Methodist Church
	Afternoon
12:30	Conference Luncheon — Presiding: Arthur S. Flemming. Delaware, O.
	Speakers: George M. Harrison, Cincinnati, O.; Herschel D. Newsom, Columbus, Ind.; Walter P. Reuther, Detroit
	Mich.; Noel Sargent, New York, N. Y.
2:30- 5:00	Plenary Session: Presentation of Conference Agenda —
	Agenda Topic A: Dr. Edward L. Cushman, Detroit Mich.
	Agenda Topic B: Prof. Justin Wroe Nixon, Rochester, N. Y.
	Agenda Topic C: Dr. William Adams Brown, Jr., Washington, D. C.
	Agenda Topic D: Dean Clair K. Searles, Toledo, O.
	Proposed Conference Statement: Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, on behalf of the Statement Committee: Charles H. Seaver, Chairman; Raymond W. Miller, Noel Sargent, Al Whitehouse, and Arthur S. Flem-
	ming, ex officio.

Evening

7:30- 9:30 Agenda Topic Groups — Topics A, B, and C

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17

MORNING

9:00-12:00 12:00-12:15	Agenda Topic Groups — Topics A, B, and C (continued) Devotional Period in each Group

Afternoon

2:00- 4:30	Agenda Topic Groups — Topics A, B, and C (continued)
4:45- 6:00	Conference Tea and Reception, Central Methodist Church
	Given by Detroit Council of Church Women

EVENING

7:30- 9:30 Agenda Topic Groups — Topic D — All groups, each meeting in its accustomed room, discussed this Agenda Topic simultaneously

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18

MORNING

9:00-12:00 Agenda Topic Groups — Topics A, B, and C (concluded)
12:00-12:15 Devotional Period in each Group

AFTERNOON

2:00- 3:30 Plenary Session — Discussion and action on revised General
Conference Statement
4:00- 5:00 Agenda Topic Groups — Topic D (concluded)

EVENING

7:30- 9:30 Plenary Session — Discussion and action on Agenda Topic C Report

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19

MORNING

9:00-10:45 Plenary Session — Agenda Topic B Report
11:00 Service of Worship

AFTERNOON

- 1:30- 3:00 Plenary Session Agenda Topic B Report (concluded) 3:00- 4:30 Plenary Session — Agenda Topic A and D Reports
- 4:30 Closing Worship Service

APPENDIX B

Appointing Bodies

National Denominational Bodies

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church American Unitarian Association Church of the Brethren Evangelical United Brethren Church Evangelical and Reformed Church General Council of Congregational Christian Churches International Convention of Disciples of Christ Methodist Church

National Baptist Convention of America Northern Baptist Convention Presbyterian Church in U.S.

Councils of Churches

Southern California Council of Protestant Churches Connecticut Council of Churches Council of Inter-Church Cooperation, Bridgeport, Conn. United Council of Churches of Greater St. Petersburg (Fla.) Church Federation of Greater Chicago Indiana Council of Churches Church Federation of Indianapolis Massachusetts Council of Churches Michigan Council of Churches Berrien County (Mich.) Council of Churches Detroit Council of Churches Flint Council of Churches New Jersey Council of Churches

New York State Council of Churches Federation of Churches of Christ in Albany and Vicinity

Allied Religious Bodies

American Friends Service Committee Home Missions Council of North America Interseminary Movement The Salvation Army United Christian Youth Movement

Presbyterian Church in U.S.A. Protestant Episcopal Church Reformed Church in America Religious Society of Friends of Philadelphia and Vicinity Religious Society of Friends (General Conference) Religious Society of Friends (Five Years Meeting) Russian Orthodox Churches in N. A. United Church of Canada United Lutheran Church United Presbyterian Church Universalist Church of America

Council of Churches of Buffalo and Erie County

Protestant Council of the City of New York Federation of Churches of Rochester

Syracuse Council of Churches Council of Churches of Akron Council of Churches of Greater Cincinnati Cleveland Church Federation Franklin County (O.) Council of

Churches Toledo Council of Churches Federated Churches of Youngstown Oklahoma City Council of Churches Pennsylvania Council of Churches Erie (Pa.) Council of Churches Philadelphia Council of Churches Wyoming Valley (Pa.) Council of Churches

Milwaukee Council of Churches

United Council of Church Women National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the U.S.A.

National Council of Community Churches

APPENDIX C

List of Delegates

(With Residence, Appointing Body, and Occupation)

All delegates were church people appointed by church bodies. It is the very essence, however, of a conference on economic life convened by the churches to bring together church people with differing group interests and from diverse walks of life. In this way the problems which men and women confront daily in economic life are faced in the Conference by people of various points of view and backgrounds. The thinking and discussion throughout the Conference is thereby informed by those who deal with such matters in terms of first hand experience and competency, and together they bring out the many-sided aspects of these issues and problems.

The occupational relationships of the delegates is given for information on the different backgrounds and approaches to the problems discussed. This information is as complete and accurate as is available on the Conference records, largely supplied by the delegates themselves. It is to be emphasized, however, that the sense of responsibility on the part of the delegates throughout the Conference was connected with their capacity as church people and not to the place which they hold in economic life. They neither spoke for nor necessarily represented the views of the organizations or groups with which they are associated in economic, social, or political life.

REV. RALPH C. ABELE, St. Louis, Mo.—Evangelical & Reformed Church (Minister)

Mrs. Florence G. Adams, Highland Park, Mich.—Friends, Five Years Meeting (Housewife)

MAJOR A. AINSWORTH, Detroit, Mich.—Salvation Army

WM. Akos, Toledo, O.—Toledo Council of Churches (Pres., Local 9, Federation of Glass Workers, CIO)

Dr. Walker M. Alderton, Chicago, Ill.—Church Fed. of Chicago (Chicago Theological Seminary)

Mrs. Sherwood Anderson, New York, N. Y.—YWCA (Staff, Natl. Bd. of YWCA)

JOHN ANDERSON, Detroit, Mich.—United Presbyterian Church (Engineer)

Rev. Olof Anderson, Jr., Louisville, Ky.—Presbyterian Church in U. S. (Minister)

Arthur Armstrong, Cleveland, Ohio—Protestant Episcopal Church (Cleveland Twist Drill Co.)

PROF. ELMER J. F. ARNDT, Webster Groves, Mo.—Evangelical & Reformed Church (Eden Theological Seminary)

Rev. Jule Ayers, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—Wyoming Valley (Pa.) Council of Churches (Minister)

F. V. Baad, Dearborn Township, Mich.—United Presbyterian Church (Education)

EMERY BACON, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Presbyterian Church in U. S. A. (United Steelworkers, CIO)

HOWARD C. BALDWIN, Detroit, Mich.—Methodist Church (Attorney)

Mrs. Edgar Bark, Wauwatosa, Wis.—Congregational Christian Churches (Housewife)

James H. Barnes, Detroit, Mich.—Northern Baptist Convention (Ford, Lincoln, Mercury Corp.)

Rev. K. Logan Barnes, Youngstown, Ohio—Federated Churches of Youngstown (Minister)

EUGENE E. BARNETT, New York, N. Y.—YMCA (Gen. Secy., Natl. Counc. of YMCA)

FLOYD BASS, New Augusta, Ind.—Church Federation of Indianapolis (Agriculture)

J. Donald Baxter, Bloomfield, Ontario, Canada—United Church of Canada (Canning Industry, also Member, Provincial Legislature)

MISS HELEN BEAVERS, Detroit, Mich.—YWCA (Exec. Dir., Detroit YWCA)

Dr. G. Pitt Beers, New York, N. Y.—Home Missions Council of N. A. (Exec. Secy. American Baptist Home Mission Society)

REV. JOE BELCASTRO, Columbus, Ohio-Disciples of Christ (Minister)

PROF. JOHN C. BENNETT, New York, N. Y.—Department (Union Theological Seminary)

RICHARD BENNETT, Philadelphia, Pa.—American Friends Service Committee (Exec. Staff)

Mrs. HILLARY BISSELL, Greenville, Mich.—Congregational Christian Churches (Housewife)

DESMOND W. BITTINGER, Elgin, Ill.—Church of the Brethren (Education)

Aubrey Blair, Los Angeles, Calif.—Southern California Council of Churches (Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, AFL)

REV. WILBUR W. BLOOM, Detroit, Mich.—Northern Baptist Convention (Minister)

Dean Harold A. Bosley, Durham, N. C.-Methodist Church (Duke Divinity School)

Dr. Charles F. Boss, Jr., Chicago, Ill.—Methodist Church (Exec. Sec., Commission on World Peace)

Prof. Kenneth Boulding, Ann Arbor, Mich.—Friends, General Conference (Economist, Univ. of Michigan)

Prof. Clark H. Bouwman, East Orange, N. J.—New Jersey Council of Churches (Upsala College)

Dr. J. Burt Bouwman, Lansing, Mich.—Michigan Council of Churches (Exec. Secy.)

E. R. Bowen, Glenview, Ill.—Department (Former Exec. Secy. Cooperative League, U.S.A.)

Rev. Emerson O. Bradshaw, Stevensville, Mich.—Berrien County Council of Churches (Interim Exec. Dir.)

Mrs. F. P. Brasseur, Lakewood, Ohio—Congregational Christian Churches (Housewife)

Dr. Cloide Brehm, Knoxville, Tenn.—United Lutheran Church (Pres. University of Tennessee)

CHARLES A. BRITTON, Jr., Nashville, Tenn.—Methodist Church (Methodist Publishing House)

CHAUNCEY BROCKWAY, Sharon, Pa.—Northern Baptist Convention (Banker)

Major Ray Brown, Atlanta, Ga.—Salvation Army

- Dr. William Adams Brown, Jr., Washington, D. C.—Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (Economist, Brookings Institution)
- WILLIAM M. Brown, Detroit, Mich.—Protestant Episcopal Church (Editor, Detroit Shopping News)
- Hon. WILBER M. BRUCKER, Detroit, Mich.—Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. (Attorney; former Governor of Michigan)
- ROBERT O. BUEHLER, Chicago, Ill.—Evangelical & Reformed Church (Business)
- REV NICHOLAS J. BURGGRAAFF, Boonton, N. J.—Reformed Church in America (Minister)
- MRS. CORA E. BURKE, Knoxville, Tenn.—A. M. E. Zion Church (Housewife)
- ALLEN T. Burns, East Lansing, Mich.—Michigan Council of Churches (Formerly Dir. Nat'l Community Chest Assn.)
- Rev. J. George Butler, West Hartford, Conn.—Connecticut Council of Churches (Minister)
- REV. MERRILL L. CADWELL, Warren, Ohio-Disciples of Christ (Minister)
- HARRY M. CAREY, Boston, Mass.—American Unitarian Assoc. (Dir. United Community Services Fund)
- LARRY CARLSTROM, Chicago, Ill.—Congregational Christian Churches (Asst. Dir. Implement Dept., UAW-CIO)
- REV. J. EDWARD CAROTHERS, Albany, N. Y.—Methodist Church (Minister)
- REV. W. E. CARRINGTON, New Rochelle, N. Y .- A. M. E. Zion Church (Minister)
- A. V. CAUHORN, Detroit, Mich.—Disciples of Christ (Pres. A. V. Cauhorn Co.)
- Rev. R. C. Chalmers, Toronto, Ontario, Canada—United Church of Canada (Board of Evangelism & Social Service)
- Miss Ethel Chapman, Toronto, Ontario, Canada—United Church of Canada (Editorial Staff, Farmers' Magazine)
- W. Howard Chase, Hohokus, N. J.—Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. (Public Relations Dir., General Foods Corp.)
- Theodore Clausen, Green Lake, Wis.—Northern Baptist Convention (Rural Church Center)
- ROBERT A. CLELAND, Evanston, Ill.—Congregational Christian Churches (Accountant)
- S. B. Cleland, St. Paul, Minn.—Congregational Christian Churches (Economist, Agricultural College, Univ. of Minn.)
- REV. HANFORD H. CLOSSON, Rochester, N. Y.—Methodist Church (Minister)
- PHILIP CLOWES, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. (United Steelworkers of America, CIO)
- C. Arthur Collin, Toledo, Ohio—Toledo Council of Churches (Vice-Pres. Textileathe Corp.)
- Dr. Gaines M. Cook, Indianapolis, Ind.—Disciples of Christ (Exec. Secy., International Convention)
- RAYMOND COOK, Snyder, N. Y.—Evangelical & Reformed Church (Business)
- REV. D. STANLEY COORS, Lansing, Mich.—Methodist Church (Minister)
- REV. RUFUS CORNELSON, New Brunswick, N. J.—United Lutheran Church (Minister)
- Dr. James A. Crain, Indianapolis, Ind.—Disciples of Christ (Exec. Secy., United Christian Missionary Society)
- REV. HENRY HITT CRANE, Detroit, Mich.—Detroit Council of Churches (Minister)

A. B. Crow, Detroit, Mich.—Northern Baptist Convention (Pres., Economic Club of Detroit)

CHESTER CULVER, Detroit, Mich.—Detroit Council of Churches (Exec. Secy., Detroit Employers Association)

C. M. Cunningham, Lansing, Mich.—Friends, Five Years Meeting (Social Work)

REV. B. B. Curtis, Drayton, N. Dak.—Methodist Church (Minister)

Dr. Edward L. Cushman, Detroit, Mich.—Protestant Episcopal Church (Dir. Industrial Relations Institute, Wayne University)

Dr. John C. Dancy, Detroit, Mich.—A. M. E. Zion Church (Exec. Secy. Detroit Urban League)

REV. JACK A. DAVIS, Sarasota, Fla.—Methodist Church (Minister)

John H. Davis, Washington, D. C.—Department (Exec. Secy. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives)

Mrs. CLIO DEAN, Flint, Mich.—Flint Council of Churches (Education)

REV. LEWIS H. DEER, Little Rock, Ark.—Disciples of Christ (Minister)

REV. LEROY DEININGER, Akron, Ohio-Council of Churches of Akron (Minister)

REV. GEORGE DICK, South Bend, Ind.—Northern Baptist Convention (Minister)

Albert E. Diem, Bridgeport, Conn.—Council for Inter-Church Cooperation (Dictaphone Corp.)

WILLIAM DIEMOND, Detroit, Mich.-Michigan Council of Churches (Labor)

Rev. M. E. Dorr, Dayton, Iowa—Methodist Church (Minister)

CHARLES T. DOUDS, New York, N. Y.—Methodist Church (Regional Dir. National Labor Relations Board)

Howard Downham, Strathroy, Ontario, Canada—United Church of Canada (Farm Management)

Tom Downs, Detroit, Mich.—Detroit Council of Churches (Labor)

REV. MICHAEL DRAOVICH, Detroit, Mich.—Russian Orthodox Church (Minister)

Hon. Harry Drobish, Marysville, Calif.—Congregational Christian Churches (Agriculture; State Senator)

Tilford Dudley, Washington, D. C.—Congregational Christian Churches (Asst. Dir., CIO-PAC)

Prof. John Duffy, Jr., Granville, Ohio—Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (Dennison University)

Prof. Arthur Dunham, Ann Arbor, Mich.—Friends, General Conf. (Univ. of Michigan)

Miss Frances Dysinger, Philadelphia, Pa.—Home Missions Council of N. A. (Secy. for Promotion, Women's Missionary Soc. United Lutheran Church)

Rev. Clifford J. Earle, Philadelphia, Pa.—Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. (Asst. Secy. Division of Social Education and Action)

Prof. Kermit Eby, Chicago, Ill.—Church of the Brethren (Univ. of Chicago)

Dr. WILLIAM W. Edel, Carlisle, Pa.—Methodist Church (President, Dickinson College)

HAROLD EDWARDS, Syracuse, N. Y.—Syracuse Council of Churches (Manufacturer)

Dr. J. W. Eichelberger, Chicago, Ill.—A. M. E. Zion Church (Secy. Bd. of Christian Education)

Rev. S. Martin Eidsath, Gardena, Calif.—Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. (Minister)

EDWIN A. ELLIOTT, Fort Worth, Texas—Disciples of Christ (Regional Dir. National Labor Relations Board)

MRS. LEON W. ELLIS, Syracuse, N. Y.—United Council of Church Women (Housewife)

REV. Franklin Elmer, Jr., Flint, Mich.—Northern Baptist Convention (Minister)

Miss Lois Anna Elx, Indianapolis, Ind.—Disciples of Christ (Director Adult Work, Missionary Education)

R. A. FARNSWORTH, Houston, Texas-Presbyterian Church, U. S. (Business)

A. M. FELAND, Henderson, Ky.—Disciples of Christ (Agriculture)

JOSEPH W. FICHTER, Columbus, Ohio—Department (Master, Ohio State Grange)

Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., Los Angeles, Calif.—Southern California Council of Churches (Minister)

Mrs. Fenton Fish, Columbus, Ohio—United Council of Church Women (Dir., Ohio Council of Church Women)

SEN. RALPH FLANDERS, Washington, D. C.—Congregational Christian Churches (U. S. Senator from Vermont)

Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Delaware, Ohio—Methodist Church (President Ohio Wesleyan University)

L. J. Fletcher, Peoria, Ill.—Northern Baptist Convention (Dir. of Training, Caterpillar Tractor Company)

Homer W. Fortson, Macon, Ga.—Disciples of Christ (Business)

WILLIAM M. Fox, Connellsville, Pa.—Evangelical United Brethren Church (Paint and Glass Business)

MRS. C. R. FRAZIER, Waynesville, Ohio-Protestant Episcopal Church (Agriculture)

REV. ROBERT H. FRENCH, Butler, Pa.—United Presbyterian Church (Minister)

REV. HARLAN M. FROST, Buffalo, N. Y .- Council of Churches of Buffalo (Exec. Secy.)

Rev. G. Shubert Frye, Syracuse, N. Y.—New York State Council of Churches (Synod Exec. Presbyterian, U. S. A.)

Rev. Ralph T. Fulton, Minneapolis, Minn.—Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (Minister)

Jesse Gallagher, Cleveland, Ohio—Protestant Episcopal Church (Regional Director,
AFL)

James Garrison, Detroit, Mich.—Detroit Council of Churches (Editor, Detroit Labor News)

Prof. Earl Garver, North Manchester, Ind.—Church of the Brethren (Economist, Manchester College)

MRS. PAUL A. GEBHARD, Oak Park, Ill.—Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. (Housewife)

REV. OWEN M. GEER, Los Angeles, Calif.—Methodist Church (Minister)

HERMON N. GEORGE, Youngstown, Ohio—Federated Churches of Youngstown (Attorney)

George Gettinger, Sullivan, Ind.—Congregational Christian Churches (Agriculture)

REV. ROY GIESELMANN, Cleveland, Ohio—Cleveland Church Federation (Minister)

Joe B. Gividen, Middletown, Ohio—Disciples of Christ (Business)

G. B. Goble, Woodstock, Ill.—Methodist Church (Vice Grand Pres. Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, AFL)

Prof. Leland Gordon, Granville, Ohio—Northern Baptist Convention (Economist, Denison University)

REV. IVAN M. GOULD, Harrisburg, Pa.—Pennsylvania Council of Churches (Minister)

REV. RICHARD GRAHAM, Binghamton, N. Y.—New York State Council of Churches (Minister)

George F. Granger, Detroit, Mich.—Protestant Episcopal Church (Wayne County Bureau of Social Aid)

Frank Greathouse, Rogers, New Mexico—Methodist Church (Board of Lay Activities, New Mexico Conference)

WILLIAM J. GREDE, Milwaukee, Wis.—YMCA (Pres. Grede Foundaries)

Rev. Shirley E. Greene, Merom, Ind.—Department (Agricultural Secy., Congregational Christian Churches)

REV. PERRY EPLER GRESHAM, Detroit, Mich.—Disciples of Christ (Minister)

E. G. Grossnickle, Elgin, Ill.—Church of the Brethren (Treas. General Brotherhood Bd.)

SAM R. GUARD, Louisville, Ky.—Protestant Episcopal Church (Agriculture; Editor "Breeders Gazette")

Rev. Armand Guerrero, Chicago, Ill.—Methodist Church (Minister)

Paul I. Gulden, New York, N. Y.—United Lutheran Church (Brokerage and Investment Business)

Rep. Ralph W. Gwinn, Washington, D. C.—Reformed Church in America (Congressman from New York)

Dr. Alfred P. Haake, Park Ridge, Ill.—United Lutheran Church (Economist)

Leroy A. Halbert, Bethesda, Md.—Congregational Christian Churches (Pres. Rochdale Cooperative, Inc. of D. C.)

REV. ROBERT H. HAMILL, Burlington, Iowa-Methodist Church (Minister)

CHAN HARBOUR, Cleveland, Ohio—Cleveland Church Federation (Vice-Pres. National Federation of Post Office Clerks, AFL)

Miss Clara Hardin, New York, N. Y.—YWCA (Staff, Natl. Bd. of YWCA)

HAROLD W. HARDWICH, Syracuse, N. Y.—Syracuse Council of Churches (Labor)

JOHN C. HARMON, New York, N. Y.—Methodist Church (Staff, Bd. of Missions and Church Extension)

Dr. Henry G. Harmon, Des Moines, Iowa—Disciples of Christ (President, Drake University)

Frederick E. Harrell, Cleveland, Ohio—Disciples of Christ (Managing Vice-President, Reliance Electric and Engineering Co.)

GEORGE M. HARRISON, Cincinnati, Ohio—Northern Baptist Convention (President, Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, AFL)

Prof. Robert S. Hartman, Columbus, Ohio—Presbyterian Church in U. S. A. (Ohio State University)

Mrs. Benson Heale Harvey, Easthampton, Mass.—Protestant Episcopal Church (Staff, Diocese of Western Mass.)

George R. Harvey, Indianapolis, Ind.—Disciples of Christ (Agriculture)

RALPH W. HASKELL, Jr., St. Petersburg, Fla.—United Council of Churches of Greater St. Petersburg (Manager, City Oil and Fuel Co.)

REP. Brooks Hays, Washington, D. C.—Department (Congressman from Arkansas)

Dr. Paul Silas Heath, Buffalo, N. Y.—Presbyterian Church in U. S. A. (Minister)

Prof. David Henley, Richmond, Ind.—Friends, Five Years Meeting (Economist, Earlham College)

Very Rev. H. Ralph Higgins, Grand Rapids, Mich.—Protestant Episcopal Church (Dean, St. Mark's Cathedral)

RALPH HILEMAN, Detroit, Mich.—YMCA (Gen. Secy. Detroit YMCA)

T. Russ Hill, Detroit, Mich.—Northern Baptist Convention (Martin-Parry Corp.)

REV. W. A. HILLIARD, Detroit, Mich.—A. M. E. Zion Church (Minister)

REV. LESLIE L. HILTON, Milton, Wis.—Congregational Christian Churches (Minister)

JOHN A. HOADLEY, Bloomington, Ind.—Methodist Church (Business)

Mrs. Warwick B. Hobart, Cincinnati, Ohio—Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. (Former Exec., National Consumers League)

REV. RALPH L. HOLLAND, Indianapolis, Ind.—Indiana State Council of Churches (Exec. Dir.)

Mrs. Ralph L. Holland, Indianapolis, Ind.—United Council of Church Women (Housewife)

Rev. Harvey W. Hollis, Albany, N. Y.—Federation of Churches of Christ in Albany and Vicinity (Exec. Sec.)

Oscar Holste, Chicago, Ill.—Congregational Christian Churches (Pres. Chicago District Council, B'hood of Ry. and Steamship Clerks, A.F.L.)

REV. ERNEST L. HONTS, Detroit, Mich.—Northern Baptist Convention (Minister)

Gurney P. Hood, Raleigh, N. C.—Methodist Church (State Banking Department)

REV. LAWRENCE Hosie, Syracuse, N. Y .- Syracuse Council of Churches (Exec. Secy.)

BERNHARD HUBER, Buffalo, N. Y.—Council of Churches of Buffalo (Attorney)

MAJOR GEORGE R. HUNT, Detroit, Mich.—Salvation Army

Mrs. Lois B. Hunter, New York, N. Y.—Department (Business; Former Deputy Comr. of Labor, N. Y. State)

Carl R. Hutchinson, Worthington, Ohio—Department (Education Dir., Ohio Farm Bureau Federation)

REV. HOMER JACK, Evanston, Ill.—American Unitarian Association (Minister)

J. R. JACKSON, Freeport, Ill.—Methodist Church (Business)

RODNEY C. JACOBSON, Minneapolis, Minn.—American Unitarian Association (Minnesota State CIO)

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APPENDIX D

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